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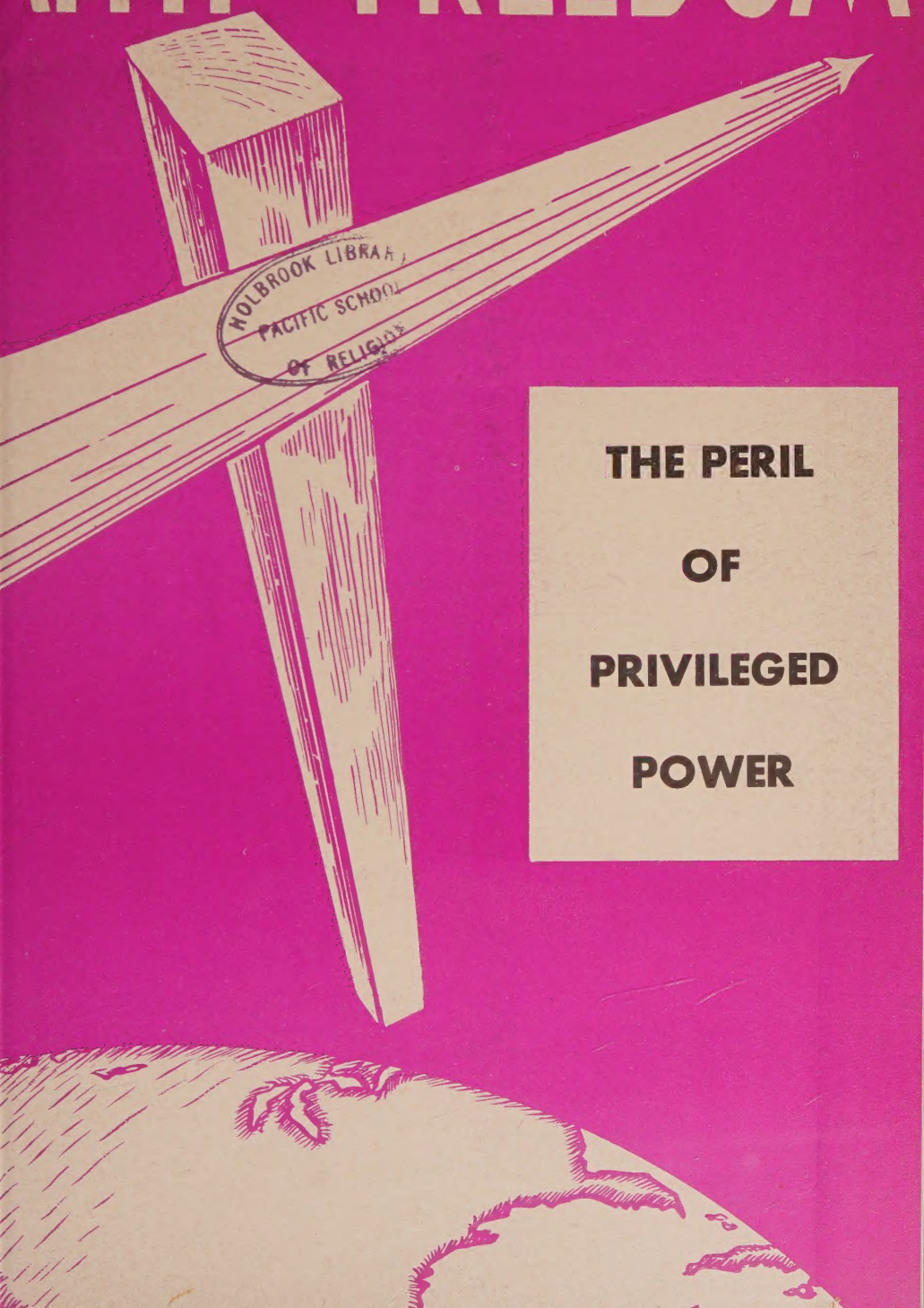
ew Perspectives in

AITH AND FREEDOM



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PACIFIC SCHOOL
OF RELIGION

THE PERIL OF PRIVILEGED POWER

Christmas, the Cradle, and the Cross

The symbol of Christmas is more the Cradle than the Cross. With its proximity to the New Year, Christmas and its Cradle suggest birth and rebirth, the precocious hopes of a new beginning, the seed-time of tomorrow. In the lovely words of the Benedictus, the birthday of Christ has always been "the dayspring from on high . . . to give light to them that sit in darkness, . . . to guide our feet into the way of peace."

Yet the Cross has never been far from the Cradle, as March is never far from December, as the tragedy of Golgotha was only thirty-three years from the beauty of Bethlehem. Implicit in every birth is death, harbored in every hope is the threat of despair, overhanging every cradle is a cross. The meaning of life must always be found within the polar extremes of good and evil.

So it is over America, the cradle of freedom, "the last, best hope of earth," that the Cross of judgment broods, disturbing her conscience, confronting her with the mandate, "Live as free men under God, or else! . . ." Always implicit in freedom is the loss of it. It takes no great span to change free men into slaves.

And yet it was only three days from the Cross of Christ to the Cradle of Hope again, and the Cross itself was transformed into the symbol of hope. The Cross itself became a new Cradle. If it takes danger to make men alert, the threat of loss to lead men to find themselves, then the challenge of the Cross over a dying civilization can rouse it to life again. The Cross can become OUR Cradle.

Indeed, it is only with the deep meanings symbolized by the Cross — the sacrificial love, the conviction, the redeeming will — that there can be a real Christmas of renewing hope and a fresh birth of freedom. Then the Cross and the Cradle together become "the dayspring from on high . . . to give light to them that sit in darkness. . . ."

Edward W. Greenfield

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STAFF: The Rev. Edward W. Greenfield, E itor; C. C. Johnston, Business Manage

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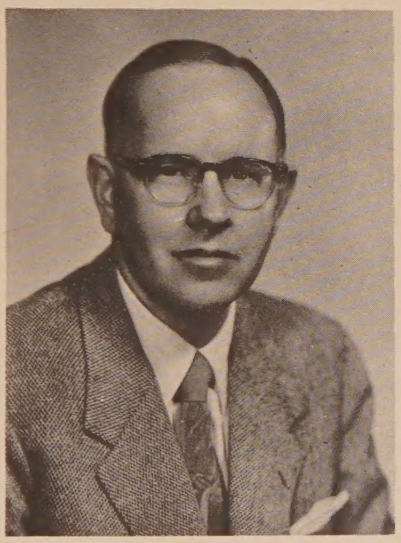
BUSINESSMEN IN THE BALANCE

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN

Mr. Ingebretsen is a Congregational layman and a deacon of his church. Several years ago, he withdrew from his business interests and a partnership in one of the country's noted law firms to become Spiritual Mobilization's president. His extensive civic and religious activities have included the Presidency of Harbor Commissioners for the Port of Los Angeles; and services as a Director of the Red Cross, Cancer Society, Heart Association, and Y.M.C.A.

Occasionally a reader suggest that Spiri- Mobilization seems find sinners only ng labor organiza- s" while ignoring sins of manage- t." (See the new iends and Critics" espondence column his issue.) Such crit- more often than not, e only a friendly con- that *Faith and Free-* shall be a fair and est publication, as we selves are sincerely ng to make it.



of the Unbiased

The sins of man, in management or are indeed many. But Spiritual ilization exists not for the purpose uring all the ills of the world, but of lying the moral values of freedom nstitutions and ideas. As our editor ares in his note of reply in the cor- ondence column, "Our job in Spirit- Mobilization is to judge the organ- ions of management, labor, govern- t, religion, or others by their fruits." goes on to point out that we make ecret of, and offer no apology for, bias "on the side of freedom under which, among other things, in- cludes free enterprise," and he states that "we will challenge threats to these freedoms wherever they appear."

We are concerned, then, to evaluate organizational ends and means, rather than persons, against the moral standards which are inherent in our Judeo-Christian heritage. Accordingly, we believe that there is an honorable place in a free society for voluntary associations of craftsmen or other workers, enjoying the same status before the law as other private organizations, devoted to training, fellowship, bargaining, and other services for willing members, and restrained, as are other groups, from interfering in any way with the property, persons, or livelihood of those who are not members.[1]

We believe, further, that there are basic moral differences in means between those organizations which rely

[1] Readers who know of union officers or organizers who advocate this useful unionism would do us a favor by bringing their names to our attention.

on voluntary acceptance in competitive markets to achieve their purposes, and those which rely on threats, coercion, and compulsion.

And there are basic moral differences in ends between the idea of pooling capital, tools, and labor to produce goods for consumers, and the idea of pooling coercive power to forcibly advance the special interests of some workers against their fellow workers.[2]

The Real Difference

It is on the basis of these differences that we have been outspoken against the practices and privileges which characterize today's unions. In the light of these basic moral differences, it is difficult to see how even the most personally upright of union leaders can avoid courting disaster for our free society if they continue to promote special-interest practices of compulsion, coercion, and political privilege. Equally threatening is the fact that there can be no economic justification for these practices that is not socialist in its implications, whether union leaders, or those who support them, know it or not.

The more intelligent do know it. The Religion and Labor Foundation, Inc. is an organization financed largely by labor unions, and boasts on its executive board the membership of a large number of America's best-known labor lea
ers and religious "social actionists." T
September, 1958, issue of its Bullet
carries a biting review of a book whi
ought to be read, E. L. Dayton's *Walt
Reuther: The Autocrat of the Bargai
ing Table* (Devin-Adair, $4.50). Aft
warning his "unwary" readers to
careful of the book, "since there is mu
of undoubted fact and absorbing i
terest between its covers," the review
continues with this revealing conce
sion: "Occasionally there are genui
insights, as when the author says: 'O
fact not clearly understood by conte
poraries is that socialism and tra
unionism have come down the yea
hand in hand. Both are products
revolt against capitalism'."

Not Personalities But Philosophies

Thus, the political ideas and powe
of a union leader such as Walt
Reuther, whose socialist leanings a
well documented in the book, are n
made less dangerous to freedom by t
fact that he may not drink, smoke,
steal, does not seem to be greedy f
money, and has recently joined
church! *The problem is not one of pe
sonalities and their virtues or lack
virtue, but of social philosophies and t
means of implementing the philosoph*

The present practices, privileg
and immunities of labor union monopo
do constitute a "revolt against capit
ism." It is the accumulating evidence
every hand of this fact that throws
shadow over the future of our fr
society and determines the focus
Spiritual Mobilization's interest.

That is why we pay no more atte
tion to individual malpractices amo
businessmen than we do the same si
among union leaders. While wrongdoi
and misappropriation of funds are to
condemned wherever they appear,
tend to agree that many of the charg
aired by the McClellan Committee a
irrelevant to the real issues of industr
relations. Rather, the ones upon wh
a wary eye must be kept are those w
in any way, use violence, coercion,
compulsion, even when clothed w
legal immunity or privilege, and esp

[2] Organizers and officers of unions claim, and many others uncritically believe, that when unions get for their members what they otherwise would not have received, this gain comes from the pockets of owners and investors who are supposed to have wrongfully withheld it from the workers in the first place. However, statistical evidence is rapidly accumulating to show, and time will make crystal clear, that the monopoly-positioned and politically privileged union can gain little for its members that does not come from other workers. Those who lose most are the ones forced into unemployment by artifically high wage rates, and all workers suffer as consumers. Insofar as political programs and inflationary fiscal policies are resorted to in efforts to conceal the damage being done, those who are dependent upon fixed incomes or savings also suffer. These neglected truths will be dealt with at length in subsequent FAITH and FREEDOM articles as a part of the series initiated in the Labor Day issue with the outline of ten moral standards by which the problems of union power must be judged.

y when directed against the validity
l vitality of free enterprise.

e Shift of Power

This, to a frightening degree, is the
uation in today's labor union move-
nt. The privileges and immunities in
hands of labor leaders today must be
otested as vigorously as were the
itical privileges and immunities
ght and often obtained by business-
n at the turn of the century. This
vernmental favoritism for business-
n is now virtually extinct. If anyone
n show us where evil privileges and
munities of the same magnitude now
st outside the union movement, we
l not hesitate to lift our protest with
the vigor at our command.

That there has been this great shift
the political nature of the industrial
oblems now confronting us seems to
ve been almost wholly lost upon many
erwise intelligent and dedicated lead-
in the religious and educational
ds, and even in business and politics.
w else can we account for the fact
at some of our leaders, noting evil in
walks of life and properly condemn-
it, so often blandly affirm that unions
erated for special-interest coercive
rgaining are as beneficial to society as
stitutions organized for the produc-
n and distribution of goods and ser-
es to consumers? There has been, in
me way, a terrible failure of com-
unication and understanding between
ose who could convey knowledge in
s field and the men and women who
rry the major responsibilities of lead-
ship in a free society. Certainly busi-
ssmen are to be blamed for their share
this failure, and we have never hesi-
ed to point this out.

litics not Enough

It is encouraging that some busi-
ssmen are now urging other business-
en to develop better programs of
onomic education and to enter the
litical arena as an antidote for, and a
unterattack upon, the formidable
litical activity of organized labor. We
ree that the failure of businessmen
take more initiative in this regard
s had much to do with the growing dominance of union monopoly power and the inflationary ruin of our economic system and loss of liberty.

But the political activity now urged could develop into a brutal power struggle and intensified class warfare if what business has to offer is not based upon moral principles as well as economic theory. Business leadership has in its favor the long heritage of our Constitutional form of limited government, the amazing productivity of private enterprise in a free market system, and the philosophy of liberty for the individual to which America is still fundamentally committed. *But business leadership must show itself morally and spiritually worthy of this heritage, system, and philosophy if its appeal on these grounds is to regain the allegiance of the majority of Americans!*

The Business Man's Moral Failure

That businessmen are to be increasingly challenged to meet this need is apparent from a thought-provoking article in the September, 1958, issue of none other than *Fortune* magazine. This article, "The Businessman's Moral Failure," written by the eminent Jewish Rabbi and scholar, Dr. Louis Finkelstein, is, in some regards, so thoroughly in line with our own sentiments and observations that we can do no better than to quote from it at length.

"Too many businessmen," says Dr. Finkelstein, "never stop to ponder what they are doing; they reject the need for self-discipline; they are satisfied to be clever, when they need to be wise. They worry about their place on the economic ladder, but are not concerned sufficiently with whether the civilization in which they work is likely to collapse. They can defeat a local competitor, but may well be defeated by the competitor of us all, which is moral decay. . . .

"Ask the U.S. businessman why he is successful today, and he may explain to you the advantages of capitalism, the profit motive, and the 'American system.' He may, with due modesty, point out the superiority of his own products and marketing. But he will largely ignore the philosophic foundation of the

American system. He tends to ignore the great ethical laws as they apply immediately to his work. The truth is that he is preoccupied chiefly with gain, coasting on the spiritual momentum of the past, divorced from our sources of inspiration. He is the leading citizen of a largely hedonistic nation propelled by meaningless drives toward materialistic and frequently meaningless goals."

Destruction by Default

Happily there are notable exceptions to this general picture of modern business executives, as there may be also in the labor union field. The trouble is that there are not enough such exceptions, and the businessman's lack of a sustaining philosophy of life and of society, and of a thoroughgoing moral code to go with it, can be fully as dangerous, through default, as the undermining philosophies and Machiavellian morals which, from other directions, are steadily eroding the foundations of our free society.

If Dr. Finkelstein rightly singles out the American businessman for indictment when the businessman is probably no more materialistic than anyone else, it is "because of the responsibility he bears, because his role in American society is so great. . . . " So long as the gains and goals of business are so largely materialistic, it should not be surprising to find the gains and goals of organized labor — and even of the church — being measured in the same coin!

Putting Ethics on the Agenda

But Dr. Finkelstein does not stop with rebuking businessmen for their faults. Fully acknowledging that "the majority of the American business community are not evil men, and want to do right," he goes on to a constructive alternative. He urges that the American businessman "should literally place ethics on the agenda — for himself at home and in the office, for his company and trade association." Indeed, "today's crisis demands the businessman's leadership in the area of human behavior. The kind of criticism with which enlightened businessmen could confront philosophers and theologians could be a challenge. . . . Morally sensitive ar informed businessmen can comp American philosophy and religion focus on the basic problems troublin mankind.

"We Americans will then no longe warrant William James' description us as worshippers of 'the bitch-goddes Success.' Our best young minds woul strive for genuine, rather than appa ent, achievement. If we can overcom the tendency to measure intellectu productivity by quantity rather tha quality, America might produce work and insights into the ethical realm com parable to the eternal creations tha have emerged from other civilization Without such creations, rallying th spiritual energies of all men, Americ and the Free World will not endure.

"Civilization needs men and wome whose every act and decision will bea the stamp of responsibility. The wor cannot long survive, at least in freedom if decisions are made irresponsibly — that is, without disciplined consider tion of individual and general cons quences. To rise to his full stature, th American businessman — who at h best embodies many of the Prophet virtues—must shoulder a unique burde of responsibility. The fate of the wor hangs on his decisions, for, above a the world needs ethical leadership fro those it respects as supremely practical

Whose Responsibility?

We do not know that Dr. Finkelste holds to other points of Spiritual Mobil zation's credo — perhaps not — but one could have better stated these pa ticular dimensions of our moral ar spiritual purposes. We hold that lab union leadership is emerging as a me ace to free society largely because of failure of spiritual vision and mor conviction on the part of business well as religious leadership. If ma religious leaders have been insensiti to the economic and political proble which concern our business leade perhaps the greater responsibility li with those who have been so involv with production for its own sake th they have not felt the need of any oth moral sanction, or even to inqui whether such exists.

THE PERIL OF PRIVILEGED POWER

EDWARD W. GREENFIELD

In the heat of political campaigning
d its aftermath of bitterness on one
e and exulting on the other, it is
ways difficult to sift fact from fiction,
ıth from partisan propaganda. The
ıth tends always to appear on the side
favor, and only "the other side"
ops to distortion and lies.

The editor of *Faith and Freedom* is
ly aware of this difficulty as he writes
s third in the series on "Moral Stand-
ds and Union Power." He therefore
es not presume to evaluate the results
the 1958 election season; yet at least
e observation may be unhesitatingly
ıde: the labor unions have entered the
litical lists with full armor on and
ttle-axes swinging.

e Union Political Imperative

Union leaders make no secret of their
litical purposes. In a 254-page hand-
ok, *How to Win*,[1] published by the
FL-CIO Committee on Political Edu-
tion (COPE), President George
eany declares in his Foreword:

he gains labor has made at the col-
tive bargaining table are threatened
the legislative halls of Congress and
e State Legislatures. To meet that
allenge, effective political activity has
necessity become a vital part of effec-
e trade unionism. . . . It is my hope
ıt this book will be of assistance in the
eat task the AFL-CIO has set for it-
f: To advance and promote the gen-
ıl welfare of America by effective
litical education."

The book itself makes it abundantly
ar that "the general welfare" is re-
rded as identical with the cause of
oor unions and with the deceptively
ractive social reforms endorsed by
e unions: "the simple bread and butter
ues . . . better homes and schools, fair prices and taxes, peace or war, fair employment laws, adequate social security, civil rights, just labor legislation." There is no open partisanship as to party; the fact that union political activity has found a congenial vehicle in the Democratic Party does not rule out at least occasional support of Republicans who represent a "good labor vote." Union leaders will endorse and lend financial support to any candidate or issue favorable to their interests. Yet one needs only to read the handbook to recognize one of the most important factors in the tremendous election sweep by the Democratic Party. COPE means business, and it knows how to go about its business! And the conclusion seems inescapable that its purposes lead toward a union-dominated government.

Money Unlimited

The AFL-CIO political activity is ostensibly financed by "voluntary" contributions, usually announced as one dollar from each of the approximately sixteen to seventeen million union members in America. Union leaders do not pretend to be able to secure more than about $3,000,000 by this method; in 1956, they were able to raise only $1,000,000. As explained by Joseph Rauh, attorney for the UAW, before the Supreme Court in 1956, "The only funds available to a union [for political activity] are those that come from dues. . . . The small amount that has been able to be collected as voluntary dollars has all gone as contributions to the candidates. . . . When he has paid his dues, [a union man] thinks he has paid for bargaining, for legislation, and for political activity. He doesn't feel he should pay a second time for political activity."[2]

Yet the AFL-CIO was able, according to reports officially filed with the Secre-

tary of State, to spend nearly $2,000,000 for defeat of the Right-to-Work Amendment in California alone! Almost the same amount was spent in Ohio. The estimated total for the states in which the right to work was directly or indirectly a specific issue must have been in excess of $10,000,000. These figures do not include salaries to political workers, estimated at $20.00 per day, contributions to or in behalf of favored candidates in each of the forty-nine states, and the continuous barrage of political "education" through union publications. A conservative estimate of total political expenditures by labor unions would exceed $20,000,000 for the 1958 political season — from three to five times as much as was available in various states to the opposition!

While accurate figures are not possible, the October, 1958, issue of *The Reader's Digest* cites Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn as estimating funds available for union political activity as ten per cent of the more than $600,000,000 received annually in dues — at least a $60,000,000 political kitty! The pretense of poverty as over against "big business . . . pouring millions of dollars into campaign advertising to influence public opinion and to help elect big business candidates" is sheer fiction.[3]

The Third Indictment

The foregoing provides substance for the third indictment made under the title, "Moral Standards and Union Power," in the Labor Day issue of *Faith and Freedom*.[4] That statement reads in part: "The union labor movement must be judged according to its deliberate effort to add to the already existing immunities and political privileges highly partial to its special cause. . . . Seeing the advantage in governmental favoritism, labor leaders are currently engaged in extensive political activities, both to prevent limiting legislation and to secure a still more privileged position under law."

Who can have watched the 1958 political campaigns throughout America without recognizing that this is true! Union leaders have become the heir apparent for rulership of the nation!

The Pageant of Privilege

What they are seeking, and *that* th are seeking it, can best be seen again the background of what they ha already sought — and gained. It is n here disputed that during an earlier e political privilege was sought and large degree enjoyed by industry. T story of political privilege and immun ties sought and obtained by favor individuals and groups, ranging fro clergymen to capitalists, from docto to diplomats, from soldiers to sons nobility, from congressmen to kings, one of the more disturbing features human history.

The story has been carefully outlin by Roscoe Pound, former Dean and Pr fessor Emeritus of the Harvard La School, in his chapter "Legal Immu ities of Labor Unions," in *Labor Unio and Public Policy*.[5] After detailing t sharp decline in special privileges und law for virtually every other walk life, Dean Pound points to the lab unions as the new privileged segment society. A graphic chronological histo of the rise of legal privilege for t unions is further detailed in Dona Richberg's *Labor Union Monopol* Another that goes into more exhausti detail is Sylvester Petro's *The Lab Policy of the Free Society*.[7] These a "must" reading for anyone seeking understand what is happening in t labor union movement.

No Real Law

The evolution of labor relations law too complex and confused for anyo but experts in law to follow. The to effect of such evolution, however, has Professor Petro to observe: "There properly speaking, *no* law of labor re tions today. It is not true in labor re tions that 'every man is entitled to day in court,' or that an effective reme is available for every wrong. The r of law indispensable to any free soci simply does not exist."[8] What we ha instead, is largely a series of makeshi in both Congressional enactment a Court decisions whose effects have b

essive exception-making, resulting in cial privileges and immunities for ons on the one hand and govern- ital intervention into private enter- e on the other.

The beginnings of political action rly fifty years ago were for the legi- ate protection of unions. The Clayton i-trust Act of 1914 gained recogni- of the legitimacy of unions by aring that they were not to be re- ded as conspiracies in restraint of de. At the time, this was a just and tively innocent protection of unions m prosecution under the anti-trust s. It was not until some years later this Act, together with the Norris- Guardia Act of 1932, was interpreted shield for the rise of unions to mon- ly status. Favored by the immunity ferred by these Acts in days when ons were weak, they march today h monopoly power in large segments he American economy, ruling indus- -wide empires in the trucking, steel, road, mining, automobile, and other ustries. Under present interpreta- of the Clayton and Norris-La- rdia Acts, the unions are exempt m the anti-monopoly laws which re- in industrial monopolies. Industrial lers generally recognize the justice he anti-trust laws as applied to them- es; the major leaders of organized or, on the other hand, vigorously st every effort to extend the anti- st laws to union monopoly!

covery of Political Strategy

The second major step in behalf of ons came with the Railway Labor of 1926. Donald Richberg speaks of fight for this law as "one of the most ical battles over labor legislation waged in Congress," coming at a e when such fundamental questions he right of workers to organize, to ecognized by management, to engage ollective bargaining, and to establish ding trade agreements were still be- bitterly debated. Primarily a mech- sm for settling labor-management outes, the Act is not of current signi- nce in itself, for it has long been ndoned. The significance lies in its being the first successful attempt of organized labor to use the power of government for its own benefit.

In 1926 the benefit conferred by government represented a balancing of powers which considered the interests of management and the public as well as of organized labor. In later years the same political strategy, combined with an ambitious Federal Administration, was to be used to throw the balance of power increasingly on the side of the unions *without* concern for industry and the public!

Winning With the Wagner Act

The resort of the labor unions to government for immunities and privileges in gaining an economic stranglehold came into its own with the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935. The Wagner Act not only protected the unions; its design was to *promote* them and to prevent even reasonable protection of industry against them. A list of "unfair labor practices" was chargeable against management, even preventing employers from presenting their side of a labor dispute, while granting the unions sweeping license to do what they pleased.

It is often argued that unions are necessary to offset the power in the hands of employers. Though this argument is too often accepted uncritically, the point is that with the Wagner Act the balance of power was thrown by political dispensation to the union side. Not only was industry to become the victim of union aggression; under the coercions of compulsory membership, millions of workers, also, were to become victims! Under the benefice of Congressional action, aided by the National Labor Relations Board set up by Congress and used to settle disputes almost exclusively in favor of the unions with little regard for the merits involved, the ranks of organized labor grew from less than 4,000,000 in 1935 to more than 14,000,000 by 1945. Some of the methods used to achieve this spectacular growth were such as to give the alleged "sins of management" the color of sainthood and martyrdom! In the

words of V. Orval Watts, "Under the Wagner Act, the National Labor Relations Board became an agency for licensing racketeering in the name of unionism."

Catalogue of Immunities

The immunities and privileges enjoyed in this ten-year period — and still enjoyed with minor exceptions imposed by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 — are legion. The most obvious, and currently the most seriously challenged, is the privilege of exacting a contract agreement requiring union membership and/or payment of dues as a condition of employment. No other individual or group in our society has so tyrannical a privilege. In no other private relationship may a contract be drawn to bind a third party without his consent. Yet both Congress and the Supreme Court have not only refused to withdraw, but have positively promoted, this special privilege for organizations of labor.[9]

The only concession to individual freedom is recognition of the right of the states to pass their own right-to-work laws — a troublesome provision of the Taft-Hartley Act which, immediately upon learning the favorable results of the 1958 political campaign, union officials announced their hopes to have removed. Ironically, but typically, it is the provision for state right-to-work laws that has been the chief cause of the claim by union officialdom that Taft-Hartley is a "slave-labor law"!

Power Without Responsibility

A broader privilege is found in the exemption of labor unions from liability for wrongful acts and practices. The basic reason for this immunity is the refusal of unions to incorporate. According to the general "law of agency," employers or corporations are responsible for what their employees do in the course of their employment. Not so with a union. A union is not easily held liable for what is done under its jurisdiction by its members. It is claimed that the unions must be "guarded against a potentially crushing liability." Yet, as Dr. Pound observes, "no one else has protec tion against liability for wrong-doin lest it crush him financially. A manu facturer can be put in bankruptcy b having to pay for wrong done third pe sons by negligence of his employees."[1

As an example, drawn again from th editor's experience in Princeton, Ind ana, the union was not liable for any c the physical damages by pickets o picket-duty, or for violation of the "n strike" clause in the union's contra with the company — not to speak of th terrible depredations away from th picket lines and the financial disruptio suffered by the entire community! Fo all practical purposes, even under breac of contract, the union was not liable fo financial and other losses to anyone."

In short, despite their tremendou corporate strength and financial r sources, the unions are not required assume full corporate status or full leg responsibility, nor do they want suc legal status with all the regulations th are brought to bear upon corporation They enjoy, and intend to keep on e joying, all the advantages of corpora strength with none of the disadva tages!

It may be that company liability fo injury or damage inflicted by compan personnel is at least part of the reas that virtually no acts of violence ha been chargeable against employers the past 20 or 25 years in labor dispute though such acts were undoubtedly co mitted before the Wagner Act. If th be true, the argument is all the strong for removal of the existing immunity labor unions in the face of literal thousands of violent acts committed them *since* the Wagner Act. As observ in an earlier article in this series, monstrous "double standard" exists both the legal and moral spheres wi regard to criminal behavior when pe petrated in the name of organized labo

The Public Be Damned!

In regard to the duties of public se vice, the unions again enjoy a spec exemption. Public service organiz tions, such as telephone, electric pow transportation, and hospital, are

ired by law to perform continuously a asonable service to the public, and are ble in damages if they fail to perform ir public duty, even in the face of a ike. Public utilities are forbidden to andon their services even if unprofitle.

Yet, under existing immunities, the blic character and responsibility of ion employees in these public service terprises are *not* recognized by law. cording to Dean Pound, *"organized ployees can compel stoppage of pub- service, prevent others from taking eir places and, while so doing, hold up e public indefinitely even in breach of no-strike provision in their collective rgaining agreement!"*[12] Picketing, nich can cripple or close even a hostal, is not subject to effective legal straint. The legal duties of the emoyers toward the public remain in rce while those of a union do not!

ealth Without Liability

Once again, significant disparities ist with regard to expenditures and ntributions for political purposes. he provisions of the Federal Corrupt ractices Act to control political use of oney apply to unions as well as to cororations. But, as a practical matter, nion officials have found it possible to ngage on a large scale in questionable tivities. The restraints of public, emoyee, and stock-holder opinion which eep a corporation's Board of Directors om even that degree of political action hich is allowable under law seem not operate against union officials. This mmunity from responsibility before the inions and wishes of others is espeally true — and all the more reprehenble — in situations in which assessents and dues are compulsory under nion shop agreements. Union officers re able with impunity to avoid accountbility to their members for political use union funds.

Much the same situation exists in reard to trust funds in the hands of union aders, most of these funds, also, comg from compulsory dues, fees, and ssessments. It is misuse of these funds at has created many of the scandals exposed by the McClellan Committee. As yet, there have been no prosecutions for such misappropriation of union funds, and the recent Congress failed to provide legislation under which action would be possible.

No business organization enjoys such immunity! By persistent and successful resistance to incorporation, which would make them responsible legal entities, the unions have been able to conduct themselves with an impunity enjoyed by no other organization in America, not even including the United States Government!

Power That Should Belong to No Man

A concrete instance will summarize the general situation that exists. In a recent case before the Supreme Court,[13] a union had refused to permit its members to work for a particular employer and also refused to permit his employees to join the union. As a result, in revenge for previous hositility on the part of the employer in question, the union was able completely to destroy the man's business. "The majority of the Supreme Court," observes Mr. Richberg, "held such a conspiracy to punish an employer to be a legitimate exercise of the unrestricted rights of concerted action with which labor organizations have been endowed by federal law."

So glaring was this failure of the Court to apply federal anti-trust laws to a union's abuse of power, that Mr. Justice Jackson, in dissenting, exclaimed: "With this decision the labor movement has come full circle." After pointing to the long struggle of workers for freedom, the Justice went on: "This Court now sustains the claim of a union to the right to deny participation in the economic world to an employer simply because the union dislikes him. This Court permits to employees the same arbitrary dominance over the economic sphere which they control that labor so long, so bitterly, and so rightly asserted should belong to no man!"

The Drive Toward Union Government

It is against the background of such privilege and immunity that union polit-

ical activity must be understood. The cry is raised by union leaders that the Taft-Hartley Act is a "slave-labor law" and that state right-to-work laws are designed to "wreck" unions. What they mean is that some restraint has been put upon the unbridled march to power enjoyed in the decade before Taft-Hartley, though the continuing growth in strength of numbers, financial resources, and political influence is ample evidence that the restraint has been neither severe nor effective. That union leaders have resented even such minor restraints as have been attempted against them seems a clear indication of what they are after.

The purpose of union political activity is quite clearly to enlarge rather than diminish the favored position of unions, seeking the power of government behind the full sweep of their program for domination of the American economy.

Nowhere was this more glaringly illustrated than in California. A union-dictated plank — at least written in behalf of unions — in the 1958 platform of the winning political party in that state declares that legislation should be enacted to prevent state and county agencies from purchasing materials from producers "charged with unfair labor practices or against whom a strike is being conducted by a bona fide labor union." In asking for such outrageous legislation, the party platform registers the trend of union ambitions, namely, to put the power of government behind the unions in every labor dispute!

Nor would this power be in the hands of the workers themselves. Under the system of compulsory membership, now apparently on its way to full realization, control could rest nowhere than in the hands of union officials. The unmistakable and announced purpose of a number of union leaders is control of at least enough of the work-force to control in turn both the economic and political life of America — in short, to establish a labor government whose ruling clique would combine political and economic power surpassing anything known outside the Communist Politburo! So grave is this growing concentration of powe that it will require separate treatmen in the next issue of *Faith and Freedom*.

Meanwhile, the words of Donal Richberg, so long a friend of the un ions, need to be heeded: "Instead of be ing a movement of workers bande together for the protection and advance ment of their legitimate interests in free economy, the labor movement ha now become a political movement wit the objective of establishing a socialis labor government in control of the eco nomic and social life of the nation. . . Sincere labor leaders have become con vinced that only through political powe — the control of law-making and en forcement — can they achieve the long standing and legitimate goals of th labor movement. Unfortunately, th sincerity and good intentions of some o the builders of the labor monopoly d not lessen the dangers of the power com plex they have helped to establish." The erstwhile "champions of the ex ploited" are becoming the exploiters!

The Glaring Contrast

The need is present, and desperate for limitation of the unparalleled an growing power before too late. Dea Pound pointedly illustrates the need b comparing the legal status of the union with that of business and industry. "Th Interstate Commerce Commission exist not to protect railroads or other carrier in immunities, but to protect the publi from them; banking commissions ar not to uphold immunities of bankers bu to protect the public from them. . . ." S also with government agencies in rela tion to financial institutions, trade asso ciations, insurance companies, and co porations. The government regulate these business establishments to prote the public from possible depredation and exploitation. It is probable tha these enterprises are over-regulate and many of them feel the pinch of go ernmental restraint of competition an trade to a degree that is itself a threa to free enterprise.

But, whether justified or not, the re ulations imposed upon business stand i sharp contrast to the immunities e

ed by organized labor. "By contrast," an Pound observes, "the National bor Relations Board and like admin-rative agencies in the states, along h the legitimate function of assuring ality in collective bargaining be-een employer and employee and secur-the right of employees in that ation, *have also acquired a function upholding immunities of labor organ-tions and their leaders at the expense the public. They do not protect the blic. . . . They protect labor organiza-ns and labor leaders AGAINST the blic!*"[15]

There is a further contrast which kes the situation even worse. Laws st and are strictly enforced to protect only the public but also the members and investors in, a corporation from ir own organizers and officers. But such protection exists for workers d dues-paying union members against *ir* organizers and officers, who may compulsion and violence, and even guilty of the most flagrant corrup-n, with virtually no recourse for the grieved and defrauded members. Re-atedly in the testimony before the Mc-llan Committee the effects of existing vs, or of the failure of enforcement, re shown *not* to protect wronged un-n members from their officers but to otect the wrong-doing officers from e members, and even from those who not *want* to be members in the first ce!

ed For a New Conscience

If such immunities and political priv-ges were, by some fiat, suddenly re-red to business and industry, the oral leadership of America would iftly and properly make its voice of oral indignation heard. It was the cry moral protest that erased the former litical privileges of business and in-stry from the law of the land. In a ciety which believes in equal freedom d justice before the law, no group has moral right to special privilege. The ristian and democratic conscience ust stand against the granting of a ivileged position in law to anyone. It can be nothing but moral blindness that continues to regard labor unions and their leaders as exceptions. The privileged position of unions before the law, and often in spite of law, is a betrayal of Christian principle and of our democratic form of government. Freedom in all its forms is imperilled when any group or class is permitted to exercise its power without regard for the rights of others. As moral indignation recognized and spoke against such flagrant abuse of power in the revolution against the British crown in 1776, against the slaveholders in the middle of the last century, and against irresponsible business and industrial leaders in the earlier part of the present century, so must conscience be vigorously roused against the new lords of privileged power. The imbalance must be redressed before this nation, too, succumbs to a poverty and slavery of its own making!

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[1] Available from COPE, 815 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

[2] See "Rightness of the Right to Work," Spiritual Mobilization pamphlet, p. 24.

[3] Compare the reported union receipts of $1,811,296.00 for the anti-right-to-work campaign in California alone in 1958 with COPE's own statement: "In the 1954 Congressional elections [in all 48 states], for instance, 738 individual big business contributions gave $1,434,084.30 to the Republican party." (*How to Win*, p. 39).

[4] A limited number of copies still available from Spiritual Mobilization, 25c each.

[5] By Chamberlin, Bradley, Reilly, and Pound, American Enterprise Association, 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington 5, D. C., 1958.

[6] Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1957.

[7] The Ronald Press Co., New York, 1957.

[8] *Op cit*, p. 262.

[9] See especially the National Railway Labor Act of 1952 and the Supreme Court decision of 1956 in Railway Employees *v.* Hanson.

[10] *Op cit.*, p. 149.

[11] An exception to this arose in the 1958 decision of the Supreme Court awarding lost wages and damages from a strike to an employee who sued his union. This is the first break in many years in a long-standing union immunity, yet it must be recognized that this is only money damages to a single union member and is in no way a recompense of both material and intangible damages suffered by all concerned in the strike itself.

[12] *Op cit.*, p. 162. Emphasis added.

[13] Richberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 86f.

[14] *Op. cit.*, Foreword, p. VII.

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 170f. Emphasis added.

AUTOMATION COMES TO WASHINGTON

ROBERT VERNON ANDELSON

The following delightful satire, like every true parable, can but evoke a variety of disturbing reflections upon the political trend of our times. The author is visiting lecturer in social ethics at California Baptist Theological Seminary, and is completing his doctorate for the Southern California School of Religion.

I. The Senator "Blunders"

The era of automation in politics actually first began when Senator Sellwin realized how grossly he had miscalculated. He had made some mistakes, of course, early in his career, but never anything major. This time he had made a serious tactical blunder.

He leaned slightly forward in his leather swivel chair, a portly man with fleshy earlobes flat against a ruddy neck. Heaped before him in two piles on his desk were the letters. Letters from his constituency about the Sellwin-Jepson Bill, which he had helped initiate the week before. One pile was very large, the other very small. The large pile was made up of letters against the bill, and against him for his part in it. They were, he knew, the doing of the Federated Voters' Council. They had been flowing in for days in a constantly enlarging stream, until at last they reached a virtual torrent. The letters favoring the bill had never amounted to more than a thin trickle, despite the boastful promises of the leaders of the Amalgamated Citizens' League.

The senator's fleshy earlobes reddened with chagrin. The Amalgamated Citizens' League! Phonies! They had tricked him into going out on a limb on behalf of the bill, tricked him with talk of massive demonstrations and gigantic mail campaigns. And yet they couldn't even get their own membership to send him enough post cards to make a decent showing of support. On the other hand, the deluge of mail against the bill was wholly unexpected. It upset all the senator's most careful calculations. For somehow the Federated Voters' Council had managed to enlist the aid of the Allied Labor Associations of America, the National Taxpayers' Committee, the Veterans' Coalition, Inc., the Senior Citizens' Clubs, and a number of smaller groups. Against this combination the senator knew he had no chance. He must reverse himself or face sure defeat in the primaries three months hence.

He had been the bill's most vigorous champion on the Senate floor. He cared nothing now for the opinion of its supporters; he had seen their feebleness. When he switched positions they would howl, but there was nothing they could do either for or against him. But the Federated Voters' Council was a horse of a different color. How to reverse himself gracefully? Senator Sellwin paced his office until dawn.

II. The Great Reversal

Although the set had been installed against his protests, Professor Waldrup quickly became accustomed to T.V. "The wife was right," he thought as he sat one evening watching an important telecast. "It does me good to keep up with the world around me. One can't spend all one's life surrounded by transistors and ohmeters. Besides, people are always asking me to lend my name to this or that. It's really incumbent upon me

oe informed."

And now, senator," the interviewer
d, "will you tell us exactly what
ught about your dramatic change of
rt?"

Well, it was like this." A mellifluous
ce, oozing earnestness, was lifted in
ly. "I was sitting at my desk, look-
at the mail from my constituents.
e public had registered its over-
elming opposition to the bill. Sud-
ly, this thought came to me: What
ht have I, a public servant, to petty,
sonal opinions? I was elected to rep-
ent the people. Their will is my will.
pular sovereignty! This is the mean-
of the democratic way of life. Too
ny of my colleagues don't understand
nocracy, just as I didn't fully under-
nd it until the other night. They think
y know more than the voters who
cted them. But I'm here to tell you
t the people are always right! And
who seeks to place his will above the
l of the electorate has betrayed his
ling and forfeited his right to office."

"And you detected a change in public
timent, and immediately decided to
accordingly. Is that correct?"

"Exactly. The people had spoken. I
ieve that it is the solemn duty of an
cted official to be responsive to every
ft in popular opinion, to reflect as ac-
rately as he possibly can, every change
l variation of the public mind.
omas Jefferson advocated a revolu-
n every twenty years, but I advo-
e a perpetual peaceful revolution,
ounded in official sensitivity to the
pulse of the majority. Representa-
e responsibility! That's my slogan.
e responsibility of the representative
truly represent. Too long has our
itical scene been dominated by the
choritarian mind, the mind which pre-
nes to write its own convictions into
islation. As a member of the Senate,
m the only thing I have a right to be
he passive instrument of the people's
ll. *Vox populi vox dei.*"

Professor Waldrup listened with en-
siasm. Naturally, he loved the people.
led a semi-solitary existence, divided between library and laboratory. It was his love for abstract humanity which caused him to allow his name, justly eminent in his field, to appear upon the letterheads of noble-sounding groups, concerning the precise goals of which he was always just a trifle vague. "Now, there's a genuinely humble man," he thought, as Senator Sellwin concluded his peroration. "If only all the members of our government could be so self-effacing, so scrupulously devoted, so conscientiously attuned to the aspiration of the body politic!"

III. The Parrot Prophet

"I am but a *tabula rasa* upon which is daily inscribed anew the sentiments and dictates of the Common Man." The primaries were over, and Senator Sellwin was putting the finishing touches on his speech of acceptance for the nomination. He knew the "*tabula rasa*" was contrary to every canon of political good form, but the use of Latin phrases gave him a sense of gratification, and he could afford to indulge it now. His nomination had been almost by acclamation, and his election assured.

The effect of his reversal had been altogether without parallel. He was hailed as the prophet of a new gospel, the perfector of Jefferson and Lincoln. Overnight he had become the idol of the masses, and his picture hung in homes throughout the nation, with underneath it the caption, "Senator Sellwin—The People's Voice." Already there was talk of the White House. What he had adopted as a desperate expedient for getting himself off the hook had turned out to be a stroke of genius, likely to catapult him into the highest office in the land.

The senator was pleased but somewhat puzzled when his secretary announced Professor Waldrup. Professor Waldrup was a figure of international renown, a scientist of unexcelled distinction. But on Capitol Hill he was equally famous for his political naivete. He entered, frail and stooped, blinking benignly behind old-fashioned gold-rimmed glasses.

Senator Sellwin greeted him with

unction. "It is indeed an unexpected privilege to be able to welcome you to my office, my dear professor," he exclaimed. "And to what happy turn of fortune do I owe this honor?"

"I wished to add my modest word of admiration," said the professor with a certain shy excitement. "For I too am a believer in representative responsibility. In my own small way I have tried to do my bit to implement your glorious doctrine. And I thought you should be the first to know that Sellwin will be our next senator."

The senator was touched yet at the same time faintly baffled. There was something about Professor Waldrup's mode of speaking which he could not comprehend. After all, everybody knew the election was in the bag. And why did he refer to him so strangely in the third person?

"Not only the next senator," continued the professor, "but also the next president."

"Well," thought Senator Sellwin, feeling comfortable and expansive once again, "this is more to the point." He was about to utter a polite demurral but the professor had not yet finished.

"The next president," he repeated. "Forever and forever."

"Forever?" the senator echoed blankly, somewhat disappointed at the exaggerated turn the conversation had taken.

"Yes, forever. Sellwin will be Senate, House, President and Supreme Court, all at once, forever and forever."

"My dear professor, I appreciate your interest, but aren't you allowing yourself to be carried away? Remember, no man is indispensable."

"Quite so," the scientist replied. "And that is precisely why Sellwin will be Senate, House, President and Supreme Court, all at once, forever and forever. For Sellwin is not a man."

The senator gasped. "Just what am I then?"

"You?" Professor Waldrup tittered with embarrassment. "How foolish of me. You really must forgive me, senator. Of course you couldn't have known. One moment, please." The professor scurried into the outer office.

IV. Pollsters Millennium

When he reappeared, a moment later he was not alone. With him was a contraption the like of which the senator had never seen before. It was a tall metal box on wheels, replete with slots, chutes, levers, buttons and lights.

"This is Sellwin," the professor said. "I named it in your honor. And now if you'll allow me, sir . . . . " He went to the senator's desk, gathered an armful of letters, and fed them into a chute in Sellwin's side. Then he pulled a lever. Immediately an odd whirring began, accompanied by the flashing of variously colored lights. The senator watched in awe. Out of a slot issued something like ticker tape. On it was neatly typed a thorough analysis of current legislation with voting instructions based upon the senator's mail.

The professor glowed with pride. "Sellwin is a special automatic political tabulating machine," he exclaimed. "An electric brain. You see, senator, you have set a standard of responsiveness to the popular will which very few politicians are capable of living up to. The personal equation is all too apt to enter in. Your self-abnegation is almost . . . well, almost inhuman. It's too high a goal for the average public servant.

"But now the personal equation has been eliminated. Sellwin cannot miscalculate; its reflection of the public will is perfect. Sellwin has no ideas of its own to interfere with its performance. Human government has now been rendered obsolete. A new era is on its way —the era of political automation. To you, senator, belongs the real credit for ushering in this wonderful new age, and if you'll forgive me, sir, for paving the way for your own retirement."

Professor Waldrup beamed and left the room. The senator, left alone with the machine, stared at it in a sort of stupor. On the far side of the office hung a mirror surmounted by a federal eagle. The senator rose, walked across the room, and stood before the mirror for a long time looking at the machine.

Friends and Critics

Space limits the number of letters to the Editor which may be reproduced in le or in part. While most of the mail offers the encouraging approval we need welcome, this column will be devoted proportionately more to critical comments ids to improvement and as opportunities for reply.

I want to say thanks for giving such arching analysis of the labor move- t in our country today. I personally ld like to see the congressmen of our ntry receive pamphlets and maga- s of this kind as well as our Presi- t and his cabinet. I wish also those he 'grass roots' level in politics would ive it."

Rev. R. Henry Brauer
Allison Park, Pa.

tor's Note: More than 45,000 copies the first new issue of FAITH AND EEDOM were sent out, and more than 000 of the more recent supplement, ne Rightness of the Right to Work." readership is expanding in all walks life. We could do much more if we l the financial resources.

What is the source of your income?"

Rev. G. S. Nichols
Ames, Iowa

itor's Note: Income for the work of ritual Mobilization comes from vir- lly the same sources as that for many vate educational and religious organ- tions, including colleges and semi- ries; namely, from foundations, cor- rations, and individuals. All contri- ions are entirely voluntary, and are h given and received in the clear derstanding that no strings are at- hed. Note Dr. Fifield's plea on the k cover for support from all who re our general point of view and ncern.

A copy of your Labor Day issue of ITH AND FREEDOM . . . is perhaps the ghtest ray of hope of my sixty-year il, especially since it comes from the clergy. I hold that Socialism is endemic in our culture. . . ."

David O. Green
Jasper, Missouri

"I find Gerald Heard's name missing. I hope this doesn't mean he will no longer write in FAITH AND FREEDOM."

Rev. Oliver J. Friedel
Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor's Note: Gerald Heard is now editing a journal, GROWING EDGE, published occasionally by the Foundation for Social Research, an independent educational institution which shares facilities with us at Campbell House. Mr. Heard's schedule for the coming year will include university lectures, public talks, and conferences in various parts of the country. A new album of Exploration recordings and several new books by Mr. Heard are scheduled for early release. Readers interested in keeping in touch with his activities or in receiving GROWING EDGE should write Foundation for Social Research, P. O. Box 877, San Jacinto, California.

"I have been a bit concerned that . . . the new FAITH AND FREEDOM *might be almost entirely devoted to the subject of labor. . . . I certainly hope that it will not be."*

Rev. Norman S. Ream
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin

Editor's Note: It will not be, as the current issue shows. We are placing primary emphasis upon this problem, however, because we believe it to be the most pressing need about which something may yet be, and must be, done. The election results and the lead article in this issue would seem to justify our present emphasis.

"You have quite a job cut out for yourselves! Keep your emphasis on 'right and wrong' as contrasted to 'right and left'."

B. E. Hutchinson
Jamestown, R. I.

"I don't believe I have seen anywhere any analysis of the labor situation that can compare with your excellent discussion of it in the current (Labor Day) issue of FAITH AND FREEDOM. . . . *It gives us all a little more courage to meet the moral situation we face in connection with this threat to free society."*

J. H. Sinclair
Pasadena, Calif.

"I have been a working boy and man since the age of eleven, and a union member most of my life; but for several years I have thought the leaders unfair, abusive, and exploiting of both membership and enterprise. They have gone far beyond their avowed purpose. In their insatiable greed they are becoming a real menace to individual liberty and the economy of the nation. Separation of Organized Labor and State is just as essential as separation of Church and State."

Marion L. Butler
Kansas City, Mo.

"I might expect that the editorial policy of a labor organization publication might be more likely to point out the sins of management, and a publication by the manufacturer's organization to point out the sins of labor. One would expect and account for such a bias. My question is whether this publication is the spokesman for one or the other of these groups, or whether it is honestly trying, in a difficult situation, to find the truth, and relate it in such a way as to bring about understanding of the total situation. If it continues to be able to find sinners only among labor orga izations, I must doubt its dedication Faith and Freedom."

Rev. Roy C. Mason
Long Beach, Calif.

Editor's Note: Our job in Spiritu Mobilization is to judge the organiz tions of management, labor, gover ment, religion, or others by their fruit not merely by the character of the leaders and members. Our bias is u apologetically on the side of freedo under God, which, among other thing includes free enterprise. We will cha lenge threats to these freedoms whe ever they appear. We believe that t major threat today comes, not simp from corrupt leaders, who may be fou in all groups, but from the philosoph espoused in particular by many unio leaders in favor of coercive, collectivist control over America's life and econom Such control, we believe, endangers t welfare of workers, managers, farmer and the public in such serious degr that, except for war, it constitutes t largest single danger to America toda We are not the spokesmen for any grou other than our own, and our credo a purposes are public knowledge.

"There was a time when the great co porations of the nation had become menace to our American way of life, a they were regulated and controlled the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Cla ton Act, and similar legislation. B today labor unions have become a f greater menace than was ever posed big business, and the danger to t nation lies in the fact that politic demagogues will not enact the necessa legislation to control them."

William G. Davisson
Ardmore, Oklahoma

A number of sermons have been received for the program of awards to clergymen who dealt with "Moral Standards and Labor Today" during the month of September. It was gratifying that so many were submitted; there should have been more. None was submitted in claim for the $100 award for a sermon or public address challenging the position taken in the Labor Day issue of *Faith and Freedom.*

Decisions of the judges for the first-place award of $100 and the six awards of $50 had not been made in time for publication of this issue. Winners will be notified as soon as the decisions are forthcoming, and will be announced in the next *Faith and Freedom.*

Seeking Answers to Problems of Work in Today's World

Dear Friends:

What is man at work for in today's world? Is work a curse or a blessing? Can one grow spiritually on his job, or is work in a specialized industrial society simply a means, the less of which the better, to pile up the leisure time in which alone spiritual growth is possible? Are there failures of leadership and misconceptions of work values which may be producing the vacuums into which concentrations of coercive power are moving? Could there be a contemporary philosophy of work which might help restore meaning to all aspects of life? What will work be like in tomorrow's world? Is there any danger that we may be less and less aware of our goals the greater our means and the faster our pace? Can free enterprise be saved, should it be saved, and, if so, how?

To search for answers to questions such as these, to state more concisely the real questions of ends and means facing modern man at work in an industrial society, these are challenges which we of Spiritual Mobilization would like to probe in the company of other searchers. It is not enough today just to show how many things have gone wrong with our economic and political structures and relationships. We must evolve a philosophy, a method, and a leadership by which what is wrong can be set right, and which can be not only equal to the needs of today but also alert to the promises of tomorrow, while keeping faith with the accomplishments of the past.

Going back as far as 1951, we have from time to time brought together small groups of concerned clergymen, educators, and business leaders for conversations on these subjects. Under the new leadership of the Reverend Edward W. Greenfield, we want now to resume explorations at Campbell House, and elsewhere across the country, where local interest makes such meetings possible. We urge any reading these pages, especially clergymen and educators, who would like to meet in fellowship and who might assume responsibilities in furthering such meetings, to write at once to the Reverend Edward W. Greenfield so that we can complete our schedules for 1959.

JAMES C. INGEBRETSEN
President

A Word from Dr. Fifield . . .

When Spiritual Mobilization was born 23 years ago, Dr. Cowling, Professor Hocking, and I felt that the outcome of the collectivist cycle then getting under way would be determined at the spiritual level.

This is now obvious. The election proves there can be no "political salvation" without the moral and spiritual principles upon which our nation was founded. Those who have been holding that there can be, ought to be completely disillusioned.

If the things that matter most in our civilization are to be saved for our children, we must shore up our moral and spiritual foundations, and promptly! As witness to the collapse of these foundations, recall this last campaign, where ends were thought to justify means, where untruths were common and, for a price, folks sold out in wholesale fashion.

You can't save the Republic nor work toward the Kingdom of God with the sort of political degradation that is now our norm. Moreover, the genus of this political philosophy has been caught up by so many of our schools, and even many of our pulpits, that Spiritual Mobilization, under the uncompromising leadership of President Ingebretsen, is about the only voice I know which aims straight at the heart of the problem.

Weren't you thrilled to read the Reverend Ed Greenfield's moral evaluation of the present trends in labor unions? Don't you share our conviction that America's freedoms are worth saving? Will you help provide resource with which to lengthen the legs and expand the voice of the SM Staff?

When, against the paucity of its resources, I view the soundness of the SM approach, the dedication and self-sacrifice of its Staff, and the urgent need for its witness, I want so deeply to help! I am sending my own check for a hundred dollars; but more, much more, must be forthcoming through larger and smaller checks. Will YOU send YOURS — AT ONCE?

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